[7 cont.]

114 travels, although he provides pictures of their dress. It is un-
648 necessary to cite in detail the literature written by these investigators. For further information, see the essay by A. Mostaert, The Mongols of Kansu; cf. the bibliography at the beginning of this work. Mostaert, however, does not mention A. Tafel.

114 None of these explorers wanted to make special studies of the Tujen, and therefore their reports are brief and more or less general; it could not be otherwise in the case of extensive travel accounts. They are usually content with information about clothing, language, place names, and the presumed origins. The chapter that Tafel devoted to the Tujen is comparatively extensive; see Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], Vol. I, pp. 241-257. Tafel must have had good informants for him to have been able to report so reliably after his two days' stay in Wei-yüan-pu. His brief presentation, to be sure, provides a fairly adequate orientation concerning the problems connected with the Tujen, but it indulges in too many controversial hypotheses regarding the history. It, too, like the reports cited above, provides relatively little material for giving one a picture of the culture of the Tujen.

114 The actual investigation of the Tujen was first instituted
● 797 by the Scheutvelder missionaries, who at the beginning of our century took up their work in the Amdo region. Father De Smedt soon devoted himself to learning the Tujen language and gathered extensive linguistic material, which, together with the well-known Mongolist P. A. Mostaert, he worked up into three great works: the Phonetics (Anthropos, 24/25), the Monguor-French dictionary [8] (Peking, 1933), and the Monguor grammar (Peking, 1945). P. L. Schram studied the social conditions of the Tujen and published a monograph concerning marriage (Shanghai, 1932) (2). All these works appeared after the

2. [Foreign text p. 17.] Upon the completion of the manuscript, I learned that P. L. Schram has another monograph on the history and social structure of the Tujen in preparation.

[8 cont]

114 Scheutvelder missionaries had again given up their Kansu region,
[797] which they left to the Steyler missionaries. After their departure the investigation of the Tujen again came to a halt. The language was already fairly well understood, but records of the rich folk literature and a comparison with the other Tujen dialects in Kansu were lacking. A good foundation had likewise been laid for the sociology. The other spheres, however, had not yet been considered, above all the religion and material culture (economy, clothing).

121 When the author came to this region in 1946, he intended
[177] to begin with precisely these points. The Tujen were already Sinicized to a considerable extent, but in their language, religion, and dress they were able to maintain much of their individuality until the most recent times. Therefore, in particular the legends and songs were taken down, the religious customs studied, and the dress of the Tujen women described. What seemed most interesting to the author was the religion, which is to be dealt with in the following work. The presentation is not definitive, as will become clear repeatedly below, but it does provide the fundamentals and essentials.

115 Since there are almost no written reports on this subject,
123 the author had to utilize the living sources that were available to him during his three-year stay (until 1949), in addition to his own observations. The principal one was an outstanding Tujen man, a living book concerning his people's traditions, and a Tujen singer with an enormous treasure of legends, fairy tales, and songs.

128 The work falls into two parts. The first is a critical presentation of the facts gained from the sources, and by way of introduction the chief source itself (the informant) is to be characterized. The second part presents the theoretical results derived from these facts, namely, the attempt to draw a total picture of the religion and to show the layers out of which it is formed. Hence it is not simply an offhand field report, but is also a systematic survey of the religious situation and its explanation. It is to be regretted that this work had to be
114 broken off at the site because of the suddenly erupting unrest;

[831 cont.]

241 782 787 in the case of a three-year offering, one may not choose one mountain the first year and another the second year (3). Even

3. [Foreign text p. 834.] The mountain must always be located in the people's own area. Actually such heights are always present near the villages. For example, not far from the informant's compound there is a mountain that bears the name Sheep-offering Mountain, xoni šënliedzin ula, because the offering always took place there. Among the partially Sinicized population it has retained the name hsien-yang ling, that is, Sheep-offering Height, or sheng-shan, that is, Sacred Mountain. After the greater part of the village (yang-chüan) became Christian, a high cross was erected there, and in place of the sheep offering, the people now pray there for the weather blessing.

[103] [797] [778]

the place of the soothsaying is oriented accordingly. It is indicated where the next soothsaying will take place. It is always a mountain height, however, never a compound or a valley, as, for instance, in the case of private offerings (1).

241 782

1. [Foreign text p. 834.] The offering may also take place before an obo. It is to be differentiated from the obo offering, however. The obo is the seat of the mountain-spirit, and since the mountain sheep-offering is done especially for the mountain-spirit, the obo is preferred. Since, on

[835 cont.]

241 782 procession moves from the temple directly to the nearest mountain and along the ridges across all the mountains of the entire village area. On each height the customary incense offering is burned by the two men, while the procession itself moves on. Towards midday, however, a halt is made on a height especially designated for this purpose. After the incense offering refreshments [264] are taken. The people bring bread, tea, and soup here in advance. Then the procession marches on. Not until evening does one return to the temple. On the following day the people take the books back to the lama monastery.

[836] **Details**

[562] Persons: Only male persons may take part in the procession, regardless of whether they are adults or boys, so long as they are strong enough to carry the heavy book and can pray the mani. The seed-supervisor determines how many persons each family must provide to make up the number of 108 book-bearers. If there are not enough people in one village, help is brought in from the neighborhood. Chinese are also admitted. -- In fetching and taking the books back to the monastery the number does not matter, so one person may carry two books. The Tibetan books are, to be sure, very large and heavy, since they are bound between two boards.

241 782 624 794 The seed-supervisor is changed every year at the harvest thanksgiving offering. He is charged with taking care of all the religious celebrations of the year. He is not the village mayor, however. Because his main concern is the seed, he is called seed-supervisor. The supervisor of the past year helps him (2).

[171] [797] 2. [Foreign text p. 838.] The Chinese, too, have such a religious supervisor who is chosen annually. Usually he is simply called t'ou-jen, that is, head man, or he is also called huei-t'ou, that is, meeting (festival) head; ch'ing-miao t'ou is also used,

[836 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 838 cont.] but only for the period of the sowing festival with the cult dances. -- The Christian missionaries have taken over this arrangement for their ecclesiastical celebrations and folk festivals. Thus, besides the community mayors there are also special supervisors who, for instance, organize the festival for processions or at Easter, accommodate the guests, slaughter the festival sheep, etc.

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It is not absolutely necessary for there to be several soothsayers. If a village has several, however, they must all appear. If it has none at all, then it invites at least one from outside. A lama or a Bon priest is never invited.

Time: The time for the procession around the field is determined by the soothsayer at the pole-goat offering in the spring (aradziãn) on the thirteenth day in the fifth month. The
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procession itself must always be in the seventh month, when the seed is developing ears, because the greatest danger for the coming harvest is precisely at this time on account of the many and big storms during this month (3). The time is also often

3. [Foreign text p. 838.] Cf. the sections, "Mountain Sheep-offering" and "Pole-goat."

determined in the lamasery. Since, of course, there are many villages that want to hold the procession, it may happen that two villages set the same time. Therefore the seed-supervisor goes to the monastery a month in advance and inquires when the books are available. The day is determined accordingly. -- It is usually calculated that the ceremony will last three days, one day for fetching the books, one for the procession, and one for

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-ssu* would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" between A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120–162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had defeated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely

[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 44 (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* 1: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* 4: 510–517–522.

[P. 13(8)]

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Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places.

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad.

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59]

[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.
[56] *Ibid.*, 40.
[57] *Ibid.*, 58.
[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.
[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

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IMPACT OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In dealing with these subjects, serious account must be taken of the diffusion of Buddhism. At the beginning of our era, in A.D. 148 the first translators of Buddhist scriptures arrived in Liang Chou from the oases of Turkistan, and Liang Chou became the center of Buddhist activities (Chapter II). Among the Turkic T'opa Wei people, Buddhism was diffused on a large scale. From 399 to 557 they occupied northern China and extended their power as far as the Altai. In 538, in their two provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung alone, are recorded thirty thousand temples and two million adherents to Buddhism.[22] The Turkic-Mongol tribes, settling or living as nomads along the western frontier of China from Turkistan to Manchuria, must have come in contact with Buddhism and felt its impact in different ways. The Chi'tan (of Mongol origin) who occupied northern China (907–1125) and extended their power over Inner and Outer Mongolia, professed Buddhism to the extent that in 942 the number of monks and nuns in Chih-li and Shan-tung swelled to 50,000 and in 1078, 360,000 are mentioned.[23]

However, from the seventh century on, new religious notions were also diffused in Central Asia among the nomadic tribes. In 762 the Uigurs had embraced Manicheism, and Nestorians were very numerous among them. The Kereits, a Turkic tribe living on Lake Baikal, were converted to Nestorianism in 1007. They were defeated by Chingis Khan, and submitted to him. The Öngüts, tribes of Shat'o origin who aided Chingis against the Chin in 1201, were Nestorians.[24] Around the end of the eleventh century Nestorian missionaries had already reached the Tatars living near the country which today is called Manchuria, because at least two of their chiefs bore Christian names, "Mark" and "John."[25] During the tenth and eleventh centuries many nomadic tribes in Central Asia were converted to Mohammedanism, among them the Qara-Khanides in 960, the Seljukides before 1043, and other Turkic tribes in 960 and 1043.[26]

IMPACT OF NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGOLS

The impact of these events must have been felt among the peoples of Central Asia on a larger or smaller scale and in different ways. At any rate, Nestorianism af-

[22] James R. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 179, 1933. Wieger, *Textes historiques, op. cit.*, 1433.

[23] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 291–296. It was under the Liao dynasty that Buddhism spread to the vast eastern expanses of Inner Asia.

[24] K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, 63, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929.

[25] B. Louis Hambis, Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar au XIme siecle, *Journal Asiatique*, 1953: 475.

[26] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

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fected the imperial family of the founder of the new Mongol nation in a peculiar way.

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to alliances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp.

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts occupied important administrative posts in the new nation. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28]

Vladimirtsov writes:

> Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the "Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . .

[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522. [p. 154 (B)]

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The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29] 797 175 643

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories."[30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii."[33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized."[34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer."[35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people."[36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition."[37] 175 643 771

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes: 771

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.

[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucious the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.

[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.

[33] *Ibid.*, 82.

[34] *Ibid.*, 77.

[35] *Ibid.*, 105.

[36] *Ibid.*, 109.

[37] *Ibid.*, 167.

[38] *Anthropos* **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.

[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden, 1949.

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Huang-chung, and Mongolia were appointed members of the committee. They were showered with honorific titles and privileges, and summoned to reside at the capital. The emperors lavishly provided for their expenses and those of their numerous disciples, and secured large temples and residences for their sojourn. The Mongol princes and the lamas of Tibet and Mongolia were elated with the generosity of the emperors and the keen interest and sympathy they displayed for their religion and for their spiritual chiefs. The emperors were happy too, realizing that it paid large dividends to have the most important and esteemed representatives of the lamaseries residing at the capital, in effect as honorable hostages, who had to ask the permission of the emperor every time they wanted to leave the capital.

However, these imperial generosities did not interfere with the strong policy implemented by the court in dealing with Tibet and Mongolia. They did not hinder the court in banishing the seventh Dalai Lama to Ssu-ch'uan, or in refusing to comply with the request of the "specially honored" Changchia Hutukhtu, to return to the Dalai Lama the regions of Li t'ang and Ba t'ang. They did not prevent the court from drastically crushing the lama revolt in Huang-chung (1723), or from burning all the monasteries in the country, even those of the "specially honored" Changchia. Later, at the request of the "beloved" Changchia and T'u-kuan, the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok were allowed to be rebuilt. The emperor offered a contribution *ad hoc*, but two steles were to be erected recording the ungratefulness of the lamas and the new humiliating provisions for the lamas by decree of the court. The steles were erected, but built inside a wall and plastered by the lamas so that nobody could read the texts.

The policy of the emperors in promoting Lamaism has to be studied in the light of the facts. They were well aware of the predatory instincts and fickleness of the barbarians, and of the influence the lamas wielded among them. In order to further their own interests and to gain the sympathy of the barbarians, they lavished on the lamas the titles and privileges which they childishly craved; but they were not afraid to deal with the lamas and barbarians with draconian severity, whenever their behavoir was not in line with the imperial policy. An iron hand was in the velvet glove.

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO TRANSFORM THE MONGUOR SOCIETY

This study also sheds light on the failure of Lamaism to transform the Monguor society into a genuine Buddhist society. In view of the really amazing bloom of Lamaism of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung between 1600 and 1723, when more than forty monasteries were built in that relatively small country during that short span of time, and taking into account the tremendous number of lamas enrolled in them—one lama at least from every family—and the honors, titles, and privileges

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granted to the religious chiefs, one could easily suppose that the entire population must have become fervent Lamaists, and that an all-pervading energy radiating from Lamaism must have animated the entire social, family, and clan system. It is easy to suppose that Lamaism, controlling all the levers of power and wealth, and ruling over its own subjects, must have penetrated all the relations of life and colored all the institutions, producing uniformity in religious thinking, improving customs, and eliminating all kinds of unorthodox doctrines.

However, this is thinking in terms of what Christianity performed in the Middle Ages when the corporations, the guilds, the feudal system, the monarchy, the social habits of the people, their studies, even their amusements all stemmed from the same ecclesiastical teaching, when the church was the very heart of Christianity. The present study reveals that Lamaism was far from being the center of the religious life in the Monguor society, and that it did not succeed in eliminating shamanism. Even the coloring of the old religious rites, performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families, though tinged with Lamaism, did not succeed in making the Monguors live in a genuine Lamaist atmosphere.

The most baffling fact, after so many centuries, is that the temple of the community in all the Monguor villages is not dedicated to a Lamaist deity, but to Taoist or shamanist deities. In many villages a Lamaist temple was built next to the community temple, but it was never the center of the official religious activities of the villagers. More astonishing is the fact that the religious activities conducted in the village temple on behalf of the community are never performed by lamas, but by shamans or by the chiefs of the villages.

The most important rite of the year is celebrated in the spring in the village temple, in order that the harvest will be blessed. It is attended by the entire community and is performed by "shamans" who invite Taoist and shamanist spirits, *with the exclusion of Lamaist deities,* to preside over the rite and to extend their protection over the harvest.

The elaborate rites devised to obtain protection against the terrible scourge of hailstorms are performed by shamans. The Lamaist rite of the procession with the 108 sacred books is merely added as an extra precaution.

The most important rite celebrated with devotion by each family for its guardian spirit is performed by shamans, because most of these spirits are Taoist or shamanist.

Lamaism not only met with dismal failure in its struggle for the eviction of these all-important shamanist rites, but it never succeeded in impressing a Lamaist interpretation on the old rites performed by the chiefs of the villages or the chiefs of the families.

The thanksgiving rites for the harvest, performed in

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prompt prosecution and quick forwarding of the accusations to the emperor. The emperor sanctioned the accusations January 1, 1724. An edict was sent throughout the provinces on February 11, 1724. Probably on account of this edict and the connections of the Surniana family with the Sessaka faction, General Nien Keng-Yao accused both sons of Surniana on July 1, 1724. In February, 1725, both sons were ordered to join their family, already banished to Yu Wei. In June, 1725, both were carried from Yu Wei to Peking, bound in chains, and condemned to die in prison. The twelfth son died in prison after two years of suffering, and the sixth son died in prison a couple of years later. These are the conjunctures of the accusations against the sons of the Surniana in 1724 by General Nien Keng-yao. They reveal the existence of a Catholic community and the building of a church in Hsining.[948a]

175x 798 578

Recently in Volume 18 (1959) of *Monumenta Serica*, I encountered the very interesting article, "The Description and Map of Kansu by Giovanni Battista Maoletti De Serravalle," by Professor B. Szczeniak, Notre Dame University, dealing with the same subject.

175x 113

Maoletti was born in Serravalle, near Milan, in 1669. He entered the order of the Franciscans in 1689. In 1705 he arrived in Canton and went from Sian (Shensi) to Lanchow (Kansu) in 1710. He was chased from there by bonzes in 1713, and moved to Liangchow and Hsining (Kansu) where he worked until 1716. He had been appointed Administrator of the vicariate of Hukwang, but left China during the persecution in 1724. He died on the way to Canton on January 14, 1725. The report had been written by Maoletti in Hsining, where he lived from 1713 to 1716. Maoletti's map was made four to five years before the *K'ang Hsi* or Jesuit Atlas was printed in 1719. It is not a studied piece of cartography, but a sketch-map to illustrate a mission report.

The map and the description of Kansu and Kokonor at this date is the more significant, for only a short time later great changes were brought about by the Jungar invasion of Tibet (1717), and again by the terrible revolt in 1723–1724 of Mongols and Tibetans of Kokonor and Huang-chung, and Lamas. The report is interesting for it deals with many details about places and people and the products of the country,—rhubarb, musk, and coal, silver and gold mines. (*Monumenta Serica* **18**: 294–298, 1959.)

Professor B. Szczesniak, in his very interesting article, also notes the work of F. Dehergne, S.J., "Les Missions du Nord de la Chine vers 1700," Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu **24**, 1955. Both sources help to give a view of the mission work in remote Kansu during the period of revolts.

The Maoletti report, following the map, is alive with interest in the Tartars (Mongols) who figure so prominently on the map, with the eagerness to further mission work among them, and with details about places and people. Maoletti's interest for the conversion of the Mongols is manifest in many places of the report. He is pleased to note that north of Topa sits a prince who is lord of Topa—

175x 797

[948a] *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* **2**: 366–465, Paris, Paul Daffis, 7 rue Guenegaud, 1877. De Mailla, *Histoire Generale de la Chine* **11**: 373–408, Paris, Clousier, Rue Saint Jacques, 1880.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

"an acquaintance of mine." East of Lake Kokonor, on the west side of the Yellow River, is a prince who "wants to become a Christian." West of where the great wall protrudes around Chengfan (Liangchow) is a Christian outpost conducted by the governor of Yung-ning-p'u. Here "I preached at the tents of the Mongols." Today there are Christians there. North of this settlement is a prince of 20,000 families. In the extreme north sits a Mongol prince whose wife is the daughter of the Emperor of China. He rules over 40,000 families. (This text points to the Prince of Alashan.) 175² 797

The Khan, bKrasis Batur, second son of Gushri, the Khoshot, who conquered Kokonor and Tibet (1635) died in 1714. The Queen Mother of the successor accompanied the bier. The cremated bones of the Khan were carried for burial to the tomb of the Mongol kings situated on the borders of his kingdom between Chuang Lang and Hsining [94b] in steep mountains. I have sent an Armenian and one of my catechists to present the Queen Mother with a handkerchief and a snuff box filled with European tobacco. She has sent one of her major domos to thank me and to hear about the holy law.

Maoletti awaited the return of the Queen in the Church of the Armenians in Topa.

Maoletti worked for about fifteen years in Shensi, Kansu and Ili (Turkistan) and mentions nine places with churches or oratories (three of them with two) and fifteen or sixteen other Christian communities, some larger, some consisting of only a handful of converts; some of the congregations had been founded by the Jesuits, others by zealous laymen, but the bulk of the achievement was doubtless due to the pioneering effort of Maoletti. One may speculate that to some extent the ground had been prepared for the work of the Catholic missionaries by the Nestorians who were strong in these regions. (*Monum. Serica*, 298–303.) [795]

In Hsining, which at that time was an emporium of China with a garrison of six thousand soldiers, seven or eight adults had been baptized in 1706 by the Jesuit, Father Dehergne. The city had been visited several times in 1708–1709 by the Jesuits Jartoux and Regis, preparing the map of Kansu and Tibet on the order of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. In 1713 Maoletti bought a small church in Hsining which he dedicated to St. Gregory, the Armenian, and entrusted to the care of a fervent Armenian Catholic living in Topa. Later, the community having developed, Hsining had two churches, one of Our Lady of Angels for the men, and the other for the women. Later both had come under litigation [probably after the accusation by General Nien Keng-yao of the sons of Surniana].

At that time Topa, 60 li north of Hsining, was a stronghold, subject to a Mongol prince who was tributary to the Mongol Khan. Topa was the trading place of the foreigners, Mongols, Tibetans, Lamas, Indians, Persians, Turks, Armenians, and Muscovites. Fifteen different languages were spoken here. In this Babylon is an oratory or small church built by Armenians at my insistence. [191]

Cheng-hai-p'u, with a garrison of one thousand soldiers, a village near Topa, and at the great Gate of the Foreigners, had a very large church, which had a literate merchant as head of the congregation of the Chinese as well as the neighboring Tibetans.

[94b] Between Chuang Lang and Hsining are the tombs of the Li and the Lu t'ussu in Siangt'ang and Lien ch'eng, but I suppose no connections exist between these three cemeteries and both t'ussu and Khoshots.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

Two days east of Hsining, at the junction of the Hsining and Tatung Rivers, in Chang Ch'uan Ku, was a Catholic community. These seem to have been the four communities existing in the region of Hsining in 1715. 175x 797

In most of the important cities in the northern part of Kansu Catholic communities existed in 1716, with churches or oratories. Lanchow had two churches since 1699, depending on the Tung t'ang of Peking (Dehergne p. 287). Kanchow had its church since 1660. In Suchow was a group of worshippers of the Cross. Maoletti, before 1713, during his stay in Liangchow, founded fifteen communities (two churches in Liangchow and one in Yung Ning P'u).

In the eastern part of Kansu, in many of the important cities, Christian communities were also encountered, with or without churches, in 1716.

Dehergne, p. 282, notes that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuit missions flourished in Shensi and numbered 12,000 Christians. In 1683 Christians were in twenty-three cities of the province.

In the five prefectures of Shensi there were Christians in 1700. In 1699 there were five residences of fathers and sixteen Jesuit churches (Dehergne, p. 275).

In Turkistan in 1708, there were some Christians in Ili and Hami (Dehergne, p. 287, No. 89). During the Ch'ien Lung period, 1776–1796, many Catholics were relegated to Ili for the sake of religion (Dehergne, p. 287, 288) and also to Hsi Tatung, four days distant from Hsining (Dehergne, 289, 293).

This is a sketch of the conjectures in Shensi, Shansi, Huangchung, and Kansu concerning the mission work around 1700, according to the report of Maoletti and Dehergne.

HUANGCHUNG REORGANIZED

Nien Keng-yao, the pacification of the country having come to a successful close, presented to the throne a memorandum in thirteen articles, on the methods of pacifying the Mongols, Tibetans, and the lamas. The first article was radical. All the revolts originated on account of the too extensive power of the chiefs. The Tibetan tribes, depending upon the authority of the Supreme Khoshot Chief, have to be withdrawn from him and organized in independent units, living in their own territories allotted by the emperor, ruled by their own chiefs appointed by and responsible only to the Chinese administration. The Khoshot and other Mongol tribes, who at present depend upon the authority of one single supreme chief, have to be divided into single independent units. Titles have to be granted to each of the chieftains. and territories have to be allotted to them by the Chinese administration. Each tribal chief is to be responsible for the administration of his tribe under the supervision of the Chinese authority. The entire administrative physiognomy of Kokonor changed at once, and Kokonor was annexed to the empire. 175x 648

[p.61(B)]